

Message Text

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TO USMISSION NATO IMMEDIATE

INFO ALL NATO CAPITALS

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

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E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, NATO

SUBJECT: NAC ON EAST-WEST RELATIONS

FOR AMBASSADOR BRUCE FROM THE SECRETARY

1. AT FIRST OPPORTUNITY--AND AFTER INITIAL CHECK, AT YOUR DISCRETION, WITH LUNS, DE STAERCKE AND UK, FRENCH AND GERMAN PERMREPS--YOU SHOULD PROPOSE AS ONE OF CHIEF TOPICS AT RESTRICTED PORTION OF MINISTERIAL, THE SUBJECT OF EAST-WEST RELATIONS AFTER HELSINKI. IN MAKING THIS PROPOSAL, YOU SHOULD

DRAW ON THE FOLLOWING:

-- THE ALLIES FOR A NUMBER OF YEARS HAVE PURSUED THE PROCESS OF DETENTE WITH THE SOVIET UNION. THEY HAVE BEEN ABLE, BY VIRTUE OF CONTINUING CONSULTATION AND EXCHANGES OF VIEW, TO MAINTAIN COHESION THROUGHOUT A VARIETY OF
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BILATERAL INITIATIVES AND MULTILATERAL NEGOTIATIONS WITH

THE EAST. IN OUR VIEW, THE SUCCESS OF THE WEST AT THE CSCE AND IN THE COMPLEX PLANNING NECESSARY TO MAINTAIN THE WESTERN POSITION IN MBFR TALKS HAS SATISFACTORILY

DEMONSTRATED THE WILLINGNESS OF ALLIED GOVERNMENTS TO PURSUE THEIR INTERESTS IN COMMON.

-- SUCH COMMON EFFORT HAS BEEN ESPECIALLY IMPORTANT BECAUSE THE PROCESS OF DETENTE IS ONE WHICH INTRODUCES A RANGE OF COMPLEXITIES AND UNCERTAINTIES--SOME OF THEM IMPRECISELY PERCEIVED OR UNDERSTOOD--INTO ALLIANCE RELATIONSHIPS, RELATIONS WITH THE SOVIET UNION, AND PERHAPS EVEN THE SOCIAL AND POLITICAL FABRICS OF EACH OF THE ALLIED GOVERNMENTS.

-- IT IS IMPORTANT THAT WE BETTER UNDERSTAND THE DYNAMICS OF THE DETENTE PROCESS. SUCH EFFORT INITIALLY REQUIRES A CAREFUL EXAMINATION OF DETENTE'S EFFECT ON SOVIET POLICIES AND OBJECTIVES. THIS IS NOT TO SUGGEST THAT WE EXPECT ANY DRAMATIC MODIFICATIONS IN THE SOVIET UNION AND IN ITS FOREIGN POLICY AS A RESULT OF DETENTE. IT IS TO SAY THAT DETENTE HAS ITS OWN DYNAMICS WHICH BEAR UPON ALL PARTICIPANTS AND ARE A POTENTIAL FORCE FOR CHANGE NOT ONLY OF SOVIET POLICIES AND BEHAVIOR BUT THOSE OF ITS EASTERN EUROPEAN NEIGHBORS AS WELL.

-- IN A DIFFERENT SENSE, DETENTE MAY BE A FORCE FOR CHANGE IN THE WEST. DESPITE LITTLE EVIDENCE OF THE EUPHORIA WHICH HAD BEEN EXPECTED IN THE WAKE OF THE HELSINKI MEETING, THERE ARE PRESSURES TO REDUCE DEFENSE BUDGETS AND IT SEEMS INCREASINGLY CONVENIENT TO CITE DETENTE IN URGING PUBLIC OPINION TOWARDS THE ASSUMPTION THAT COMMUNISM SOMEHOW SHARES WITH DEMOCRACY COMPATIBLE VISIONS OF HOW SOCIETIES SHOULD BE ORGANIZED.

-- WE BELIEVE THAT THE ISSUES INVOLVED IN THIS COMPLEX EQUATION ARE FUNDAMENTAL TO THE FUTURE COURSE OF DETENTE AND TO THE FUTURE OF WESTERN SECURITY RELATIONSHIPS. WE PROPOSE THAT THEY BE TAKEN UP BY NATO'S MINISTERS AT THEIR RESTRICTED SESSION THIS DECEMBER. WE MAKE THIS SUGGESTION
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NOT BECAUSE WE SENSE THE NEED FOR IMMEDIATE CRITICAL DECISIONS, BUT BECAUSE THERE IS TIME NOW TO CONSIDER IN ALL OF ITS RAMIFICATIONS THE IMPLICATIONS OF EVENTS WHICH MAY HAVE A PROFOUND EFFECT ON ALL OUR COUNTRIES IN THE FUTURE. BECAUSE OF THE IMPORTANCE AND COMPLEXITY OF THIS SUBJECT, WE APPRECIATE THAT MINISTERS MAY WANT TO CONSIDER WAYS TO FOLLOW-UP ON THEIR DISCUSSION. FOR OUR PART, WE RETAIN AN OPEN MIND HOW THIS SHOULD BE DONE. FOR

EXAMPLE, DISCUSSIONS MIGHT SOMEHOW BE REFLECTED IN COMMUNIQUE, IN PRESS BACKGROUNDERS, AS WELL AS IN FOLLOW-ON CONSULTATIONS AND STUDIES IN NATO.

2. YOU MAY AT APPROPRIATE MOMENT CIRCULATE TO LUNS AND PERMREPS THE FOLLOWING OUTLINE, AS OUR SUGGESTION FOR SCOPE AND DIRECTION OF NAC DISCUSSION. IN DOING SO YOU SHOULD INDICATE THAT WE WILL BE RECEPTIVE TO THE VIEWS OF THE COUNCIL AS TO HOW THIS OUTLINE MIGHT BE EXPANDED OR IMPROVED.

3. EAST-WEST RELATIONS AFTER HELSINKI: OUTLINE FOR A NAC DISCUSSION.

I. SOVIET POLICY AFTER HELSINKI

A. LEADERSHIP PROSPECTS AND THE PARTY CONGRESS

B. OVERALL POLICY AIMS

C. RELATIONS WITH EASTERN EUROPE

D. POLITICAL OBJECTIVES IN WESTERN EUROPE AND RELATIONS WITH WESTERN COMMUNIST PARTIES

E. EUROPEAN COMMUNIST PARTY CONFERENCE

II. ISSUES FOR THE WEST IN A PERIOD OF DETENTE

A. MAINTAINING THE STRATEGIC AND POLITICAL BALANCE

B. DEFENSE EXPENDITURES

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C. WESTERN COMMUNISM

III. THE ROLE OF THE ALLIANCE

A. THE NEED FOR WESTERN UNITY

B. DEFENSE EXPENDITURES

C. ARTICLE 2 OF NORTH ATLANTIC TREATY AND POLITICAL AND INSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT

IV. POSSIBLE ACTION

A. THE COMMUNIQUE

B. PUBLIC ASPECTS

C. POSSIBLE NATO STUDIES (E.G. APAG)

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